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CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2473) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15949);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15950);

Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2473rd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 7 September 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Noel G. SINCLAIR (Guyana).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2473)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);
   Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);
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   Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15950);
   Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);

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Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [*2470th to 2472nd meetings*], I invite the representative of Canada and the Observer for the Republic of Korea to take places at the Council table. I invite the representative of Canada and the Observer of the Republic of Korea to take places at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Colombia, Egypt, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, the Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Spain and Sweden to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pelletier (Canada) and Mr. Kim (Republic of Korea) took places at the Council table; Mr. Joseph (Australia), Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Miss Dever (Belgium), Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Jelonek (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Kuroda (Japan), Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Syed Ariff (Malaysia) Mr. Harland (New Zealand), Mr. Fafowora (Nigeria), Mr. Moreno Salcedo (Philippines), Mrs. Martinho (Portugal), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. de Piniés (Spain) and Mr. Amneus (Sweden) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bulgaria, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Fiji, the German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Ireland, Kenya, and Singapore in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Garvalov (Bulgaria), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Radrodro (Fiji), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Repub-

lic), Mr. Delprée Crespo (Guatemala), Mr. McDonagh (Ireland), Mr. Wabuge (Kenya) and Mr. Koh (Singapore) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/15957, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 September from the representative of Greece to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Singapore. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. KOH (Singapore): The conduct of the Soviet Union during the past week reminds one of a person who has done something wrong but who cannot summon the courage to admit his wrongdoing and to accept responsibility for his action. Instead of promptly admitting that it had shot down the Korean civil aircraft, apologizing for its action and offering to pay compensation, the Soviet Union has resorted to one excuse after another in order to exonerate itself from blame.

6. The statements issued by TASS described the Korean aircraft as an "unidentified plane". How can the Korean aircraft be unidentified when the name and logo of the Korean Air Lines were painted on it? How can it be unidentified when Soviet interceptors came within two kilometres of the plane and the pilot of a Soviet interceptor aircraft was heard to have said that he was going round the Korean aircraft and moving in front of it?

7. The statements issued by TASS, as well as by our colleagues, Messrs. Troyanovsky and Ovinnikov, in the Council [*2470th, 2471st and 2472nd meetings*], claimed that the plane did not have navigation lights. This claim would appear to be contradicted by the transcript of the recording we heard yesterday, 6 September [*2471st meeting*]. We heard the pilot of a Soviet interceptor aircraft informing his ground control that the air navigation lights of the Korean aircraft were burning and its strobe light was flashing. Soviet statements have claimed that the Korean aircraft did not react to radio signals of the Soviet interceptors; that it did not respond to signals intended to take it to the nearest airfield in the territory of the Soviet Union and that it did not respond to warning shots and tracer shells fired along the flying route of the plane. It is difficult for us to know whether these things were, in fact, done or not. If they were, they were not contained in the communications between the pilots of the Soviet interceptor aircraft and their ground control which we heard yesterday.

8. The Soviet Union has suggested that the intrusion by the Korean aircraft into Soviet airspace was not accidental but was deliberate. It was suggested that there was a conspiracy between the United States and the Republic of Korea to use the Korean aircraft to carry out an espionage mission. In his statement on 6 September [*ibid.*], Mr. Troyanovsky suggested that the Korean aircraft could have been sent deliberately into Soviet airspace in order to test the reactions of the Soviet air defence system which could then be monitored by the United States RC-135 reconnaissance plane, which was in the general area at one point in time. It is difficult for us to believe that the Governments of the Republic of Korea and the United States of America and the management of the Korean Air Lines would be prepared to jeopardize the lives of innocent men, women and children on such a mission.

9. Two other hypotheses have been put forward by others to explain how the Korean aircraft could have been shot down by the Soviet Union. One hypothesis is that the Soviet Union could have mistaken it for a reconnaissance aircraft, such as the United States RC-135. The mistaken identity hypothesis is difficult to accept because the Korean aircraft was a Boeing 747, which has a very distinctive silhouette and because it was visually sighted by the Soviet interceptors. The other hypothesis was put forward by the representative of Sweden in his statement to the Council yesterday. He said:

> "It is a well known fact that the Soviet Union has severe rules of its own for the protection of the State boundary, enabling Soviet units to use force even against civilian aircraft. Such rules and instructions are not in accordance with generally accepted norms of international law relevant to civilian transportation." [*Ibid., para. 80.*]

If the Swedish hypothesis is correct, the Korean aircraft was shot down in accordance with Soviet standing rules and instructions. If this was the case, then we must join the representative of Sweden in pointing out to the Soviet Union that its rules and instructions are contrary to international law, and to the specific rules governing international civil aviation. Annex 2 of the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation,[1] to which the Soviet Union is a party, contains the rules of the air. These rules set forth the procedures to be used when intercepting a foreign aircraft not properly within the airspace of the intercepting country. The procedures include radio communications, the rocking of wings and the irregular flashing of lights. The rules of the air do not include the shooting down of civilian aircraft. Attachment A to Annex 2 of the Chicago Convention[2] states that the interception of civil aircraft should be avoided and should be undertaken only as a last resort. If undertaken, the interception should be limited to determining the identity of the aircraft and providing any navigational guidance necessary for the safe conduct of the flight. It states very clearly that intercepting aircraft should refrain from the use of weapons in all cases.

10. There are some troublesome questions about this case, the answers to which we do not know. We do not know why the Korean aircraft, equipped with very sophisticated navigational equipment and computers, had departed from its scheduled route and intruded into Soviet airspace. We do not know whether American and Japanese air controllers knew that the Korean aircraft had deviated from its authorized route and intruded into Soviet airspace and, if they did, why they did not warn the Korean aircraft. Whatever the answers to these questions may be, they do not, however, affect the legal fact that the

Soviet Union had no legal right, under international law, to shoot down the Korean civil aircraft. What the Soviet Union has done is clearly contrary to international law generally, and to the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation,[3] in particular.

11. For these reasons, my Government, therefore, supports the five demands made by the Observer of the Republic of Korea in his statement to the Council on 2 September. First, he demanded that the Soviet Union offer a full and detailed account of what had actually happened. Secondly, he demanded that the Soviet Union offer its apology to the Republic of Korea, to the countries of which the passengers were nationals and to the families of the deceased and pay compensation for the losses suffered. Thirdly, he demanded that the Soviet Union punish all those who are directly responsible for the tragedy. Fourthly, he demanded that the Soviet Union give unimpeded access to the crash site to the representatives of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and to the Government of his country. Fifthly, he demanded that the Soviet Union give credible guarantees against the recurrence of the use of force against unarmed civil aircraft [*2470th meeting, paras. 17 to 21*].

12. The tragedy which has occurred has raised two other questions in our minds. First, it makes us wonder whether the structure of Soviet military command is subject to the control of the civilian leadership in Moscow. Secondly, it makes us wonder whether the person or persons in the Soviet Union whose finger or fingers are on the nuclear button, have steady nerves and could be relied upon, in a crisis, to avoid making a bad judgement.

13. We appeal to the Soviet Union to admit its responsibility for its illegal destruction of the Korean civil aircraft and to accept the consequences of its action. We also appeal to the Soviet Union and to other countries not to turn this tragedy into a new bout of East-West confrontation. It would be a great pity if the positive trend in the relations between the two super-Powers which we have witnessed during the past few months were to be completely wiped out.

14. There is therefore much at stake in this debate. We must do justice to the 269 men, women and children who have lost their lives. We must reaffirm the validity of the legal rules governing international civil aviation and demand that the Soviet Union bring its domestic rules and instructions into conformity with international law. We must also try to contain the damage done by the Soviet action to the international political situation.

15. Mr. President, at this difficult moment the Council is fortunate to have at its helm a man of your intelligence, knowledge and diplomatic skills. Under your able leadership, we hope that the Council will conclude its consideration of this question by the adoption of a course of action which would be both just and wise.

16. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. ALBÁN HOLGUÍN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I wish to express to the President and the members of the Council my delegation's gratitude for having been permitted to make known its views on the issue for which the Council has been convened and to congratulate you, Sir, for the intelligent and brilliant manner in which you are presiding over these debates.

18. I am firmly convinced of the effectiveness of the debate that are taking place in this body, for they make it possible to consider different views in the quest for peace and international understanding.

19. The facts, as we have learnt them, are that a Korean Air Lines passenger aircraft strayed from its normal course and penetrated several kilometres into the airspace of the Soviet Union, as a result of which Soviet military aircraft, after having followed the passenger aircraft for a long time, decided to destroy it, resulting in the death of 269 persons who, like thousands of persons the world over, had decided to board a plane on that day.

20. My Government would like to convey to the Government and people of Korea, as well as to the families of the victims, their peoples and Governments, its sentiments of consternation and sorrow over what has taken place.

21. This is a fact which can undoubtedly be described as a serious crime against mankind, for it is a violation of the basic rules on which the civil aviation system is based on whose respect depends the possibility for this kind of transport to exist. Colombia was a pioneer country in civil aviation, and we are particularly sensitive to any violation of the norms governing it.

22. All the laws of civil aviation are based on the principle that the lives and safety of passengers are more important than any political or economic interests of States. Hence we have various forms of mutual assistance to aircraft and the co-operation of Governments to diminish the risks inherent in air travel. As was so very well put by the representative of Sweden [*2471st meeting*], those principles are valid even in cases where aircraft penetrate areas restricted for reasons of security, and, even in a case of conflict, respect for human life should take precedence over the protection of territory.

23. It is difficult to believe that it was the Soviet Government which ordered the shooting down of the passenger aircraft or that it had established security arrangements that made it impossible to implement principles so deeply rooted in the international community. It is precisely the Convention for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation, concluded at Montreal in 1971,[4] which in its Article 1 states that: "Any person commits an offence if he ... destroys an aircraft in service or causes damage to such an aircraft which renders it incapable of flight". I wish to add here that one of the three States depositories and guarantors of that Convention is specifically the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

24. It is likely that the military commander of the area, acting without humanitarian criteria, without appropriate information and without political power, decided on his own to eliminate a possible threat that he believed to be serious and ordered the aircraft shot down. With a huge arsenal made available to him, he decided to cut short the lives of 269 defenceless persons.

25. By that act, in addition to a crime, a political mistake was made in placing arms—and arms of advanced technology—in the hands of persons who did not have a clear concept of their duty *vis-à-vis* mankind. That is a dangerous game that can lead to deadly consequences. Today it is an aircraft; tomorrow it may be a city, a people or a continent which falls victim to the mistake made by a person who at a certain moment decides the classification of a threat directed at a country. To what extent are nuclear arms handled by such weak controls? Into what terrible situations may the international community be dragged by that system? Therefore, my country has always supported initiatives to achieve the control, reduction and limitation of arms and has fostered improvement of relations among States by means of dialogue and negotiation.

26. We fervently hope that the Soviet Union will give detailed information on the events and will make it possible to investigate the facts, as they occurred. No State can legitimately refuse to allow the compilation of such information, which alone will make it possible to continue to have open skies for all aircraft and enable passengers to travel freely, without the fear of armed aggression.

27. Such events must not recur in the future, and to this end the Council must spare no effort. Only a thorough and complete investigation of the facts will make it possible to lay down clear and practical foundations which will be the rules of the game of commercial aviation, respected by all States.

28. In this connection, we unreservedly support the Spanish proposal [*2472nd meeting*] that a specialized, apolitical body such as the ICAO be charged with investigating the facts and establishing the causes.

29. This incident has undoubtedly not only led to grave confusion but also strained relations between States. But if these meetings of the Council lead to reasonable measures which contribute to restoring trust between peoples, to détente, to a diminution of conflict and to more security and safety in the air, the sacrifice of these human lives will perhaps not have been completely in vain.

30. In the meantime, we express our grave concern in the face of this open grave in the immense ocean brought about by a lack of understanding of the basic rules of universal coexistence.

31. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Fiji, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

32. Mr. RADRODRO (Fiji): First, Sir, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to take part in this debate. We congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September and are confident that your proven ability and skill will be of great value in the present deliberations of the Council.

33. Permit me also, Sir, to pay tribute to your predecessor, the representative of France, who presided with great skill and ability over the work of the Council during the month of August.

34. My delegation is compelled to add its voice to this debate and to join others in condemning the Soviet Union's action in the incident that is now before the Council. That incident represents, in our view, a new low as a wanton act of violence.

35. The tragic episode involving the Korean jet air liner has been minutely detailed before the Council by various sources over the last two days of its debate. The Soviet Union has at least admitted that its fighter plane shot down the Korean air liner.

36. There is no doubt that this Soviet action is contrary to the basic norms of international behaviour. There is also no doubt that the Soviet Union's action violates the laws governing international civil aviation. For our part, we regard the evidence produced as irrefutable.

37. Whatever may have been the circumstances, the shooting down of a civilian aircraft carrying so many passengers and serving no military purpose cannot be justified. The destruction of the aircraft, with the consequent loss of lives, represents, in our view, a gross violation of international law and the basic tenets of humanity.

38. There are well-established State practices, in addition to the well-defined principles of the ICAO, which govern situations where a State's airspace is violated. It would be incredible for the Soviet Union to suggest that in this incident, in order to protect its sovereignty over its airspace, it was necessary to retaliate in the manner in which it did.

39. The right of all States to enforce respect for the sovereignty of their airspace, like the enforcement of all rights and laws, is governed by the principle of "proportionality" in international law. The Soviet action in shooting down the civilian aircraft is clearly a violation of that basic principle.

40. As yet, the explanation provided by the Soviet Union as a rationale for the tragedy has been inadequate and unsatisfactory. Its action to prevent the immediate mounting of air and sea rescue operations is also to be deplored.

41. The entire incident has precipitated in many parts of the world, including our own, a deep sense of shock and revulsion. The maximum retaliatory option that was adopted by the Soviet Union has shocked many and is in

our view a completely unwarranted action. The utter disregard for the loss of lives and the attitude of indifference underlined by the incident has, quite rightly, evoked a very strong sense of revulsion.

42. The whole incident is appalling and unjustifiable. My delegation therefore supports the call for a full account by the Soviet Union of what happened. This is the very least it owes to the international community.

43. We support totally the call for united international action, be it here or in any other appropriate United Nations forums, with the objective of preventing any further recurrence of such a tragic event. At the same time, my delegation joins the call for a full and comprehensive investigation of the incident.

44. Mr. NATORF (Poland): At the very outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the post of President and to wish you success in your responsible activities. My delegation knows very well your personal contribution to the Security Council's work, and highly appreciates your diplomatic skill and experience, which are well known in the United Nations system.

45. I should also like, Sir, to extend my congratulations to your predecessor, the representative of France.

46. The Polish delegation has listened with great attention to all the statements relating to the incident involving the South Korean air liner which violated the airspace of the Soviet Union. Two delegations—those of the Soviet Union and the United States—have submitted to the Council two different versions of the events which led to the tragic deaths of 269 people aboard the South Korean airliner. From the very beginning United States officials have maintained that the United States is in possession of exhaustive information regarding the course of the incident and its circumstances. On this basis, the United States directed accusations against the Soviet Union in the Council, declaring that it would submit supposedly irrefutable evidence of Soviet responsibility for the deaths of the innocent passengers.

47. Yesterday, we witnessed the presentation of that alleged evidence on monitor screens. Apart from the fact that no proof has been submiited to the members of the Council that that tape was really connected with the incident under discussion, we have a number of further basic doubts.

48. First, why has the Security Council been shown only a small part of the monitoring, while the American side asserted that it had known the development of the events from the very beginning?

49. Secondly, the main point of the accusation made by the United States delegation was the fact that the Soviet interceptors allegedly knew without any doubts that they were dealing with a civilian aircraft with passengers aboard and that this very type of plane was shot down by the Soviet pilot with full premeditation. But according to the tape, the Soviet pilot did not use any word related to the flying object indicating that it was a civilian aircraft and also did not use any name or description which could even indirectly indicate that he was aware of the fact that the plane before him was a civilian aircraft with passengers aboard. Thus the tape we have seen here does not confirm the accusation made by the United States but is accidentally in full conformity with the statement made by the Soviet Government, which says, *inter alia*, "the Soviet pilots, in stopping the actions of the intruder plane, could not know that it was a civilian aircraft." [*Ibid., para. 3.*]

50. We have learned from the Soviet statement that the South Korean jet liner had been repeatedly warned about its presence over the Soviet Union's territory and that all the warnings were ignored. Regrettably, the plane continued its flight inside the territory of the Soviet Union and also flew over important military installations. The United States denies the statement of the Soviet Union.

51. Let us consider which of the presented versions of events is logical, most likely and could therefore be regarded as a true one.

52. Can we assume to be probable the version of events according to which the Soviet Union, which allegedly wanted ruthlessly to shoot down the civilian plane, needed not less than two and a half hours to do so? Anyone who thinks logically and is not biased will have no doubts that during those critical two and a half hours there were repeated efforts to establish contact with the plane that violated the Soviet Union's airspace with the precise aim of preventing the serious incident. This, the only logical explanation of the facts, has been confirmed in the statement delivered to the Council by the Soviet Union.

53. Yesterday Mr. Troyanovsky rightly questioned the possibility of damage to all the navigational equipment in the South Korean air liner that allegedly prevented it from making contact with the Soviet interceptor. I should like to point here to another serious doubt concerning the inability to establish such contact.

54. The United States Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, said at a press conference that Soviet planes had had to know what kind of aircraft they were dealing with, as they had established visual contact with it. But could that have been only one-way visual contact? Is it indeed to be doubted that the South Korean pilots did not see the Soviet planes that were over an extensive period of time giving them warning signals of various kinds? And if they saw the Soviet planes, why did they not follow the genrally accepted rules that apply to such cases? They seemingly had some serious reasons to do so, evidently more important for them than care for the safety of the passengers on board the South Korean aircraft.

55. The American version of the incident gives rise to more such questions and doubts. We can see but one explanation for them, the one contained in the statement by the Government of the USSR: United States intelligence services had used the Korean aircraft, with pas-

sengers on board, evidently for intelligence purposes. It is worth quoting here an opinion of Major-General Keegan, retired former Chief of Air Force Intelligence, who said in *The New York Times* 2 September:

> "I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace. Despite all that the Soviets have there, the Koreans continue to fly too close. The Koreans continue to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited. They should have flown much farther away, over Japanese airspace."

56. Of course, the South Korean Observer, who has been asking so many questions recently, could give us an answer to at least one question: was it just a case of a lack of caution, or rather a conscious participation of South Korea in carrying out certain schemes by the protecting super-Power?

57. It is also interesting to note that the United States is only gradually revealing some additional information which it had possessed from the very beginning—for example, about the parallel flight of an American RC-135 spy plane and its participation in the incident. The United States did this only after the USSR exposed the presence of special United States planes in the area of the incident.

58. Striking and appalling is the arrogance of the Americans and of the representatives of some other countries who groundlessly accuse the Soviet Union of distorting the truth about the incident at a time when no one can question the information submitted by the USSR. While listening to those allegations, I recalled another case in some way similar to the one we are considering today and which happened more than 20 years ago. But it was United States presidential authority involved in the denial of the fact of intelligence reconnaissance flights over USSR territory. We all remember the compromising of American policy after revelation of all the facts connected with the downing of the U-2 spy plane and its pilot, Powers, over the territory of the Soviet Union.

59. Do we not face today a similar situation in some respects, except that it is far more tragic in its consequences?

60. Some of the speakers indulged too freely in much invective and many epithets in their statements. We have heard a lot about barbarity and tyranny not belonging to civilized societies, the ruthless breaking of customs and rules of international law, and so on and so forth. On the other hand, from the very beginning of the discussion of the incident, the American Administration has supposedly been aiming at punishing the would-be perpetrators of the human tragedy. Is it in keeping with the best traditions of the so-called free, democratic and civilized world first to pronounce sentence and then quickly proceed to its execution, even long before the case has been properly judged and before all credible information about the development of events has been gathered and duly presented?

61. The Polish delegation expresses its deep regret over the death of the innocent passengers who were aboard the South Korean air liner. We think that all those who sincerely regret this tragic incident should do their utmost to create conditions that would prevent the repetition of such incidents in the future and, first of all, refrain from using this sad case for the further deterioration of the international atmosphere and avoid creating even more serious consequences.

62. We are deeply concerned that a number of delegations that have spoken in this debate, probably under the influence of the emotions caused by the human tragedy as well as under the pressure of the American propaganda machinery, have acted on the principle "First pronounce judgement: then establish the facts and circumstances of the event". In some statements justifiable concern over the influence of this incident on the already grave state of international relations was visible. Is it so difficult to realize and to foresee that the only possible result of the consideration of this issue by the Council in the hysterical atmosphere that has been created will be a further deterioration of the international situation? Do the contents and tone of the statements of the United States representatives and their closest friends create any doubts in this regard? There are three basic elements in the foreign policy of the United States under its present Administration that are being implemented with great persistence: first, there is the ruthless anti-communist crusade; secondly, there is the increasing of international tensions and the hampering of international co-operation; thirdly and finally, there is the inventing of all kinds of justifications for the escalation of the American military build-up. It is appalling that even the human tragedy of the incident we are discussing was fully premeditated by the United States, which is exploiting it to the full for the realization of those purposes.

63. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that emotions will calm, that sober minds will prevail and that sooner or later, even in the United States, a higher concern for peace and for the avoidance of atomic disaster will prevail over primitive anti-communist and narrow imperialist interests.

64. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ecuador, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

65. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank you, Sir, and the members of the Council for having given Ecuador the opportunity to participate in this debate. I should like to greet you in your capacity as President of the Council; you are the representative of a young Latin American country and a most respected diplomat with great experience of the responsibilities inherent in various United Nations bodies.

66. We would also like to salute the distinguished performance of the representative of France, Mr. de La Barre de Nanteuil, last month in carrying out his lofty responsibilities as President.

67. Ecuador, a founding member of the world Organization, believes in it and supports it as an instrument for

peace, law and peaceful coexistence. We therefore believe it the duty of all States—whether Members of the United Nations or not—and particularly of the permanent members of the Security Council, who enjoy the privilege of the rule of unanimity, to strive to maintain peace and refrain from the use of force or from engaging in acts of violence that can jeopardize the precarious stability in which mankind is at present living with such anxiety.

68. My country has expressed its categorical condemnation of the unparalleled and totally unjustifiable military action taken by a major Power against a commercial passenger aircraft, for we believe that deed to be an infringement of the basic principles of human coexistence and a violation of the civil aviation conventions to which the Soviet Union is a party.

69. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, Mr. Luis Valencia Rodríguez, stated in this connection that "no argument whatsoever can serve to justify the attack upon a commercial aircraft engaged exclusively in carrying passengers, even though it may have been flying on the wrong route or have gone off its course". Ecuador therefore comes to this highest body, which is the depository of the trust of peoples, because States Members have conferred upon it the primary responsibility for the maintenance not only of international peace but of international security as well under the terms of Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations. That safety and security is today threatened by a new attack against peaceful civil air travel carried out against a commercial passenger aircraft of the Republic of Korea and entailing the irreparable loss of 269 innocent persons, to whose kin we wish to express our condolences.

70. A thorough investigation must be conducted by the appropriate United Nations bodies and, in particular, by ICAO in order to determine where the responsibilities lie in this case, to establish and provide full and appropriate compensation and reparations and to help restore international confidence in the basic norms of law and coexistence, which are all the more necessary in our crisis-ridden world. Indeed, it is the duty of all countries to contribute to a reduction rather than a sharpening of tensions and to the promotion of greater international co-operation. This is truly indispensable but it can flourish only in a climate of understanding and of respect for the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

71. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Egypt, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt): Notwithstanding the sad and tragic incident of which the Council is seized today, my delegation would like to begin by expressing its belief that your well-known clarity of thought and strength of character, Mr. President, will ensure the exemplary conduct of the Council's deliberations on a painful, difficult and sensitive issue which perhaps—and understandably so—has triggered some impassioned and strong language.

73. Our admiration goes also to your predecessor, Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil of France, who has further distinguished himself by diligent effort and the excellent manner in which he directed the Council's work during the month of August.

74. The safety of international civil aviation concerns us all. More than a decade ago, in February 1973, it was Egypt which, for obvious reasons, at the nineteenth extraordinary session of ICAO, raised the question of the shooting down by Israeli fighters, on 21 February 1973, of a Libyan civil aircraft over Egyptian territory with the loss of Libyan, Egyptian, Sudanese, Syrian, Lebanese, French, German, Polish and American innocent victims [*see S/10893*].

75. Today, Egypt cannot remain silent in the face of the no less tragic loss of 269 lives of those who perished with the Korean aircraft over Soviet territory and which, according to the latest text of the statement issued by the Soviet Government, has violated the State frontier of the Soviet Union in an area "where a most important base of the strategic nuclear forces of the USSR is located" [*2472nd meeting, para. 3*]. Other sources have contended that "when the plane was hit, it was very close to the edge of Soviet airspace and virtually over international waters". We are prompted to take part in the deliberations of the Council both by humanitarian considerations and out of concern for the safety of international civil aviation. We fully understand the deep and sincere feelings that that tragic incident has evoked. We share those feelings, and our condolences go to the bereaved, and our understanding to the countries whose nationals were the innocent victims.

76. In the wake of such tragic events, passengers on international civil aviation flights will naturally feel captives of actual or potential danger emanating from action, overreaction or even counteraction to a subjectively presumed threat. We should all work to dissipate those negative feelings. Equally, the atmosphere of mutual suspicion, distrust and increased tensions cannot be excluded from the underlying causes. It is therefore not unrelated to the issue now before us to express our earnest hope that all peace-loving nations will continue to explore and follow the path leading to the relaxation of international tension. No country can reasonably cast doubt on the value of the well-established procedures that are meant solely to ensure the safety of any civil aircraft which, through human error, may go astray into the airspace of another country. In the midst of this debate we were somewhat reassured by the fact that no delegation questioned the validity of the international procedures, however strongly sovereign rights may have been invoked. In fact, one cannot fail to detect a certain uneasiness that, we should like to believe, stems from the acceptance of the imperative necessity for all to respect meticulously those procedures.

77. The loss of the lives of innocent and defenceless people anywhere and for whatever reason or pretext should always evoke deep revulsion, profound shock and sincere sorrow. Our margin of tolerance of violence

should never be allowed to be reduced to the level of so-called rationalization or to be glossed over by misplaced political considerations under whatever circumstances anywhere.

78. We have listened carefully to successive revelations on this tragic incident; we continue to do so. Egypt will continue to follow very closely the deliberations on this question here at the United Nations, at other international meetings and in other competent international organizations. We sincerely hope that fully revealed facts will pave the way for a safer international civil aviation to pursue its normal and legitimate course.

79. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

80. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am pleased, Sir, to congratulate you most cordially on your presidency of the Council. I am convinced that your well-known skills are a guarantee of success in your important task.

81. On behalf of my delegation, I am also happy to congratulate the representative of France on his performance as President of the Council during the past month of August.

82. Costa Rica and most States do not know the exact circumstances surrounding the tragedy of Korean Air Lines flight 007. The Council is faced with an extremely complex situation which involves principles of sovereignty, considerations of security, internationally accepted regulations of civil aviation and aspects of a technical nature—all against the background of the lives lost in a senseless tragedy.

83. Costa Rica is, however, concerned—and this is the reason for our participation in this debate—over the consequences of this grievous blow to international peace and security.

84. We believe that the system of international security rests on good faith and the credibility of the principal protagonists. In this connection, all nations must be concerned over the attempt made on their own credibility by the Soviet Union. Its weight in today's world and ensuing responsibilities demand that its words be endowed with the necessary credence. To deny one's own actions always weakens confidence. Men and nations understand and, to some extent, forgive a mistake. Men and nations are all fearful of those who always claim to be in the right, denying their own actions.

85. We also believe that international security is based on communication and co-operation among nations, irrespective of their ideological choices. The world is surprised at the lack of co-ordination, communication and co-operation surrounding the death of those aboard the Korean aircraft. Civilian and military air navigation controllers from at least three nations tracked that flight for at least two and a half hours; yet the obstacles to co-operation between all these services in providing the security and guarantees needed to protect those 269 lives could not be overcome.

86. It is the view of my delegation that the Soviet Union, which seems to be coming closer to recognizing its actions, must pay compensation for the material and human losses caused on the night of 31 August. Moreover, ICAO, in co-operation with all interested parties, must investigate the circumstances of the tragedy. In turn, the Soviet Union must guarantee it access to information and to the appropriate sites in order to strengthen guarantees that similar incidents will never again happen anywhere in the world.

87. In our view, this debate provides an opportunity to strengthen international security and to promote peace and understanding among nations. We believe that this loss of life demands better communication and co-operation in order to prevent a disaster which could have infinitely greater ramifications. We believe that everyone must shoulder his responsibilities under established principles and law. All of us must try to make confrontation give way to understanding. In that connection it is encouraging to note that this misfortune has not raised an obstacle to the continuation of the negotiations between the two greatest nations on Earth. It is only by improving this understanding and enhancing communication and co-operation for international peace and security that we will honour the unjust death of the passengers of the Korean Air Lines plane.

88. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

89. Mr. KURODA (Japan): My delegation is grateful for the opportunity to speak for the third time since the debate on this item began last week. We do so in response to the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union yesterday, 6 September [*2471st meeting*], in which he criticized Japan for not taking appropriate measures of alert before the Korean aircraft was shot down.

90. In response to the questions raised by the Soviet representative, I should like to state the position of the Japanese Government.

91. Japanese air traffic control authorities usually rely upon air traffic surveillance radar and communications from the pilot of a civilian aircraft to determine whether that aircraft is flying according to its flight plan. However, Japanese surveillance radar visibility is limited to the airspace over and around Japan and, for an aircraft flying at an altitude of over 20,000 feet, even the Yokotsudake radar station at Hakodate, Hokkaido, which is located closest to NAKKA—that is, 42°23' north, 147°28' east—some 270 kilometres east-south-east of Kushiro, can cover only as far as 42°14' north, 145°13' east, in other words some 150 kilometres south-south-east of Kushiro. It was thus impossible for any Japanese air traffic surveillance radar station to ascertain that the Korean Air Lines jet liner was flying off course.

92. The only way to ascertain the actual location of an aircraft which cannot be seen by air traffic surveillance radar is to rely upon communcation from the pilot, and standard practice is to assume that the communication from the pilot is correct. The record of radio transmissions between the pilot of Korean Air Lines flight 007 and the Japanese air traffic control authorities—namely, Tokyo International Air Control at Narita—after that aircraft entered Japanese air control jurisdiction over the broad expanses of the North Pacific, as released by the Civil Aviation Bureau, Ministry of Transport, is as follows: At 1709 Greenwich mean time (GMT), that is, 0209 Japanese standard time (JST):

"KE-007 [call sign]: Korean Air 007. Over NIPPI.

"1707. Level 330 [flight level 33,000 feet]. Estimating NAKKA 1826. 132.0 [132,000 pounds fuel remaining]. Minus 49 [outside temperature -49°C]. 320 Diagonal 45 [north-west winds at 45 knots]. Requesting selcal check.

"RJAA [Tokyo International Air Control]: (Send selcal).

"KE-007: Check. Korean Air 007. Selcal okay."

At 1815 GMT:

"KE-007: Korean Air 007 requesting 350 [a flight level of 35,000 feet].

"RJAA: Roger. Stand by. Call you back."

At 1820 GMT:

"RJAA: Korean Air 007 clearance. Tokyo ATC clears Korean Air 007. Climb and maintain flight level 350.

"KE-007: Roger. Korean Air 007 climb maintain flight level 350. Leaving 330 this time.

"RJAA: Tokyo roger."

At 1823 GMT:

"KE-007: Tokyo Radio Korean Air 007 level 350.

"RJAA: Korean Air 007 Tokyo roger."

At 1827 GMT:

"KE-007: KE-007 *Hmmmmmm* [signal becomes noisy and weak]."

93. As may be seen, communication between Korean Air Lines flight 007 and Tokyo International Air Control at Narita was normal until the start of unintelligible transmission from Korean Air Lines flight 007 at 1827 GMT, that is, 0327 Japan standard time. Narita fully expected to receive the pilot's report that he had passed NAKKA some 270 kilometres east-south-east of Kushiro at 0326 Japan standard time, and it was not until 0327 that there was any suspicion that there might be trouble, such as radio failure, with Korean Air Lines flight 007 near NAKKA.

94. For approximately 17 minutes, from 0312 to 0329, the Air Self-Defense Forces radar station at Wakkanai, Hokkaido, sighted and recorded an aircraft flying southwest over Sakhalin approximately 100 miles north of Wakkanai, but there was no way that the Air Self-Defense Forces could have known at that time that this aircraft was Korean Air Lines flight 007. The Air Self-Defense Forces were not following Korean Air Lines flight 007 by radar all the while flight 007 was in communication with Narita Air Traffic Control, but rather suddenly they picked up that aircraft on their radar at 0312 when it entered the airspace over Sakhalin, and even then it was sighted as an unidentified aircraft.

95. It was only the after-the-fact integration and analysis of radar and the communication records which revealed the possibility that Korean Air Lines flight 007 had strayed from its route and flown into Sakhalin airspace.

96. This data points to the following conclusions:

97. First, it was not until 0327 that Narita Air Traffic Control became aware of any irregularity regarding Korean Air Lines flight 007, so even if Narita had immediately contacted the Air Self-Defense Forces and had been able to deduce that the unidentified aircraft which had flown into the airspace over Sakhalin was indeed Korean Air Lines flight 007, this was already after the said aircraft had been shot down by the Soviet Union at 0326 hours, 21 seconds.

98. Secondly, Japan was in no position to warn Korean Air Lines flight 007, since we had no way of knowing that the aircraft had strayed from its route between the time it left Anchorage and the time it was shot down near Kaiba Island off the coast of Sakhalin.

99. Thus, it can only be concluded that the Soviet charges are completely groundless and that this Soviet attitude represents an attempt to shift to Japan part of the blame which the Soviet Union must rightly bear for this incident.

100. The Government of Japan hereby strongly demands that the Soviet Union promptly retract these charges and respond in good faith to this incident.

101. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Guatemala, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

102. Mr. DELPRÉE CRESPO (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, may I be permitted, first of all, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. We are absolutely certain that under your leadership the Council will be able to adopt the appropriate decisions on the difficult matters with which it has to deal.

103. Furthermore, we wish to congratulate the representative of France for the very effective manner in which he presided over the debates of the Council last month.

104. The international community learned with indignation, consternation and astonishment of the news of the criminal downing on 1 September of a defenceless com-

mercial aircraft of Korean Air Lines carrying 240 passengers and 29 crew members on board.

105. The aircraft, as we all know now, was flying over the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, near the Island of Sakhalin.

106. To the families and Governments of the Korean, North American, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Thai, Australian, Swedish, Indian and Canadian nationals who died in this tragedy, the people and Government of Guatemala extend heartfelt condolences.

107. This incident, which took the lives of women and children, victims of outright scorn for human life, must be thoroughly investigated by competent bodies of the United Nations, particularly ICAO. The delegation of Guatemala urges all parties directly involved in this incident to co-operate fully in order to determine precisely what happened so that similar acts may be averted.

108. According to the information at our disposal, this air liner was downed by the Soviet Union. My Government categorically condemns this unfathomable, deliberate and premeditated act of violence.

109. The delegation of Guatemala, like others that have preceded us, hopes that the Soviet Union will offer detailed information on what took place. Furthermore, we believe that it must punish appropriately those who participated in this deliberate, criminal act.

110. Moreover, the delegation of the Soviet Union must offer guarantees that no incidents of this kind will happen again.

111. International law guarantees the safety and security of civil aircraft in all circumstances. The downing of the Korean Air Lines aircraft was not only totally unjustified, but also a premeditated, incongruous and reprehensible act from all standpoints.

112. The international community, and the Security Council in particular, cannot fail to condemn this act, which constitutes an affront to the conscience of mankind.

113. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ireland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

114. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I wish to thank you, Sir, and through you, the members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity of addressing the Council on the important question now before it. I should like also to offer you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency and wish you every success in your onerous task.

115. The Irish delegation has asked to participate in this debate because it considers that the shooting down of a Korean Air Lines civil aircraft raises issues that have implications for all nations involved in international civil aviation and for the conduct of international relations generally.

116. I should like, first, to express our sympathy to the Governments whose citizens were killed and to the families which have suffered bereavement. We are shocked, as the world has been shocked, by the dimensions of this tragedy.

117. On 2 September the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland issued a statement expressing deep regret at the tragic loss of life. He also indicated his grave concern, in view of the circumstances pointing to the likelihood that the loss of life was not an accident but rather the result of deliberate destruction. It is now clear, in fact, that the aircraft was deliberately destroyed.

118. The Irish delegation has carefully followed the deliberations of the Council with particular reference to the information and explanations that have so far been provided. Although we have listened closely to the successive statements and explanations made by the representatives of the Soviet Union, we feel that we are still without a satisfactory explanation.

119. We cannot accept that the shooting down of that unarmed civil aircraft which diverged from its designated flight path was a tolerable action. Where security interests are concerned, in situations involving unarmed civil aircraft, our view is that the burden of exercising restraint rests squarely on the State whose military aircraft are engaged in interception. It is a matter of concern, too, that the delay in making information available may have hindered search-and-rescue efforts.

120. International civil aviation is of benefit to all the nations of the world. All nations thus have a shared interest in ensuring that civil flights can be conducted in safety. There is an immediate need for fuller and more candid information about the circumstances in which the aircraft was destroyed. This is necessary in order to enable the international community to take steps to ensure against any repetition.

121. The event has broader implications for international relations and efforts to promote international security and reduce tension. Trust and confidence are essential elements in international co-operation. Neither can be developed or sustained unless States are willing and seen to be willing to engender confidence and foster trust, not only by their actions but also by the clarity and adequacy of the explanations offered for their actions.

122. In this regard, the action of the Soviet Union and the attitude which the Soviet Government has adopted in attempting to justify that action have serious implications. The view of the Irish Government on this point was made clear by the Minister for Foreign Affairs in another forum today. He said that the Soviet Union would promote confidence and a sense of security by giving an adequate account of its actions in regard to the Korean air liner and by indicating its intentions with regard to an investigation of the incident and to the making of recompense to those who have suffered directly as a result of the tragedy.

123. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Dominican Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

124. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like, first, to convey to you, Sir, my satisfaction and that of my delegation at seeing you presiding over the Council's debates for the month of September. Your presence at the helm of these debates guarantees that they will be conducted with impartiality, moderation, equanimity and wisdom. We will surely benefit from your great skill and recognized judiciousness. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to thank you and, through you, the members of the Council for giving me an opportunity to take part in the debate on this important issue.

125. In addition, I congratulate your predecessor, the representative of France, on the most competent and elegant manner in which he presided over the Council's debate last month.

126. I shall begin by reiterating our heartfelt sympathy to the families of the victims who died in the wake of the shooting down of the commercial air liner of the Republic of Korea, as well as to the Government of that country.

127. Owing to its grave implications, this incident affects not only the parties directly involved but also the entire international community.

128. There is in the international legal order a body of universally recognized general principles that are part of the common legal heritage of mankind. The observance and recognition of those principles constitute the legal basis and spiritual foundation of peaceful and civilized coexistence among peoples. It is therefore natural for the international community to react with indignation when those principles are violated and trampled underfoot.

129. The right of innocent passage in peacetime through the territory of a State is a generally accepted and universally recognized principle. There is therefore no justification whatsoever for the attack upon an unarmed civilian commercial aircraft carrying out its normal duty of transporting passengers, even though it may happen to be off course or lost.

130. A situation such as the one involving the commercial aircraft of the Republic of Korea not only endangers the safety and security of international civil air transport but seriously undermines the basic foundations of human coexistence.

131. My delegation believes that the international community has not yet received from the Soviet Union clear, detailed information about this grievous incident. The proposal made to the Council by several countries that the Secretary-General conduct an exhaustive investigation of the facts and inform the Council of the outcome is therefore an initiative which we support and find opportune. We also believe that in this task the Secretary-General should have the valuable co-operation of ICAO.

132. Tragedies such as the one that we are considering, which took the lives of 269 people, profoundly moving the conscience of mankind, must never happen again.

133. It has been a constant part of the history of the Dominican people to view peace as the highest of all social values. Peace must be the main goal of the international community in its organized form. In this context, we are extremely concerned that the incident involving the Korean commercial aircraft may cause a deterioration in the efforts being made to achieve détente, disarmament and peace. Such efforts, today more than ever, must be redoubled for the benefit of an international society living in such a turbulent world.

134. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Kenya, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

135. Mr. WABUGE (Kenya): At the outset, Sir, let me welcome and congratulate you as the representative of a notable non-aligned and Commonwealth country on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. The issue before the Council is really sad and serious. It needs a personality of experience, caution and extreme calmness—qualities that you have so far demonstrated.

136. I should also take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. de La Barre de Nanteuil, of France.

137. My Government associates itself with those countries whose representatives preceded me in expressing their profound revulsion and indignation over the shooting down of a Korean commercial air liner, causing the deaths of the 269 innocent passengers and crew on board, comprising both old and young, men and women, and even children.

138. Granted that the Korean air liner had violated strategic Soviet airspace, the Soviet authorities should have refrained from shooting it down. Rather, they should have forced it to land and demanded an explanation. Had this been done the whole world would understand the Soviet Union's concern.

139. Given the circumstances under which the Korean civil air liner was shot down, the incident is all the more regretable since this is not the first time, nor will it be the last, that a civilian air liner has violated alien airspace due to technical or weather conditions. My Government feels that full observance of, and adherence to, the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation[3] is an absolute prerequisite to avoid the recurrence of such an incident.

140. Kenya strongly believes in the value and sanctity of human lives. Consequently, it deplores and condemns this inhuman act, which deprives so many families over the globe of their loved ones.

141. In the name of humanity, the world is entitled to know all the facts related to this tragic incident. The international community should therefore demand a tho-

thorough, independent investigation of this incident by impartial, competent international organs.

142. My Government expects all parties concerned to co-operate fully with the independent investigating body in its task. This will restore the lost credibility of the international civil aviation order.

143. Finally, my Government conveys its profound sorrow and condolences to all the families of the victims and to the Government of the Republic of Korea.

144. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

145. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, allow me to thank the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to participate in the deliberations. I also avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. We are well aware of your high professional qualities and experience and the high standard of representation that you give to your friendly country.

146. I should also like to thank the representative of France, your predecessor in the Chair.

147. The incident involving the South Korean aircraft, which violated and intruded deep into the Soviet Union's airspace, is no doubt a tragic one. The most logical question as to the whole incident is, however, why did it happen? How did it happen that a civilian aircraft on a routine international flight strayed off its course and rudely violated the State frontiers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? Obviously, there is no likelihood of any malfunction of the sophisticated equipment of a Boeing 747. An article published in *The New York Times* on 3 September simply excluded the possibility of any such malfunction, given the highly sophisticated computerized navigational systems operating aboard that aircraft. Furthermore, as was revealed by United States mass media, this civilian aircraft was equipped with an additional radar system that enables pilots to follow coastlines and other terrain features. Was it then a simple deviation from the routine course, or a pre-set course which was selected to make the aircraft fly into Soviet territory over areas of high strategic importance?

148. Why did the South Korean aircraft refuse to respond to all signals, actions and communications of the Soviet air defence system, including the Soviet interceptor planes which warned it of its intrusion? Why did the authorities in charge of the flight, who knew of the aircraft's intrusion deep into Soviet territory, not try to establish contact with the Soviet authorities or at least alert the plane of its violation? Why was the Council, yesterday [*ibid.*], given the edited version of the conversations of the Soviet pilots, whereas nothing was revealed about the contents of the communications between the South Korean pilots and the gound and air traffic control which monitored the aircraft throughout the flight? And why the unexplained behaviour of the pilots of the South Korean aircraft who were supposed to know the exact whereabouts of the plane at any given time, as well as their obligations to comply with established procedure in case of a violation of sovereign airspace, in this particular case that of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

149. There is obviously only one answer to all these questions, and that answer is quite simple—the South Korean plane was deliberately used for intelligence activities. This is borne out by the presence of a United States spy plane which, at the time the intruder aircraft entered the airspace of the Soviet Union, was in the same area near the Soviet border and at the same altitude. What is most striking is that at the beginning there was official American silence about the presence of a United States plane flying for a certain amount of time parallel to the South Korean airplane and allegedly on a routine mission. One can only guess what the real tasks of that spy plan were, but certainly its presence at that time and place was no mere coincidence. It had a direct bearing on the fate of the South Korean aircraft.

150. The world is now aware of the Soviet Government statement of 6 September [*ibid.*]. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Soviet authorities made every possible effort to prevent such an incident, even without knowing that it involved a civilian aircraft. What is still needed, however, is a clear answer from those who pre-planned this major intelligence operation, using the South Korean plane and directing it into Soviet airspace, thus deliberately exposing innocent people to mortal danger. The hysterical campaign of slander that is being whipped up at present here in the United States is not caused by sincere humanitarian concern. We have no doubt whatever that the purpose of this transparent provocation and the subsequent disinformation is again to step up new anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns. Furthermore, it is no accident that this provocation is being carried out at so tense a moment in present international relations. A conspicuous example in this respect is the haste with which the United States Administration linked the deaths of innocent people to the endorsement of the MX missile programme. In other words, the instigators of this incident are trying to create another justification for their political course based on a position of strength, the aim of which is to aggravate international relations, to step up their military preparations and to intensify confrontation with the Soviet Union. The passengers of the South Korean air liner were sacrificed as a result of this sustained policy of provocation, subversion and confrontation.

151. The Bulgarian delegation expresses its sympathies to the families of the innocent people who lost their lives.

152. It is, however, the concerted view of my delegation that the Council is being dragged into a discussion with obvious propaganda purposes. If anyone is to be held responsible for the incident, it is those who orchestrated this tragedy and decided, even before the plane took off, to sacrifice it for unacceptable political reasons.

153. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite

him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

154. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): May I at the very outset, Sir, congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. We are sure that, with your diplomatic skill and experience, you will successfully fulfil this responsible task.

155. At the same time, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to express its thanks to your predecessor, the representative of France, for his activities. Allow me also to express my gratitude to you, Sir, and to the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to explain my country's position regarding the question under consideration.

156. My delegation has followed the debate on the incident concerning the South Korean air liner very closely. The facts prove definitely that this aircraft's provocative intrusion into USSR airspace—an intrusion having strategic importance—represents a deliberate, pre-planned spying action with far-reaching political and military intentions. In preparing and carrying out this provocation a satanic play was staged cold-bloodedly taking into account the possible sacrifice of innocent people.

157. In recent days, in the United States and several other Western countries, an unparalleled anti-Soviet campaign has been launched, rousing the people with lies, slander and hysteria put forward to discredit the USSR and its social order and to disparage socialism and social progress throughout the world. While doing so the initiators of the campaign withhold the fact that those United States agencies that deliberately sent the aircraft on a spy mission far into the national territory of the Soviet Union are fully responsible for the incident.

158. The gross violation of the Soviet Union's State border and airspace and the inflammatory campaign instigated against the USSR are essential parts of the United States policy of confrontation and super-armament and of its crusade against socialism, social progress and world peace. The hostile acts undertaken by the United States and its closest allies are aimed at poisoning the international atmosphere and at preventing steps and measures to improve international relations.

159. The anti-Soviet campaign launched by Washington takes place at a time when questions vital to mankind are on the agenda and when the solution of one of the most important questions is at stake—namely, the question of whether the arms race will be stopped and the threat of nuclear world war removed, or whether that threat will keep growing. The campaign is being used to justify the United States Administration's all-round arms build-up and its intended deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe which would provoke a new threat to peace in Europe and the whole world.

160. This political background is revealed even by the mass media of that country. Thus, for example, in today's issue of *The Christian Science Monitor* the following statement appears:

> "outrage over the Soviets' shooting down of the South Korean air liner may well increase congressional support for defence spending and for Reagan's proposed MX missile programme.
>
> "[The incident] has lifted some of the pressure that was on Reagan from both Congress and West Europeans to make further concessions to the Soviets in the two sets of arms control negotiations now under way in Geneva."

161. Now, while talking here about moral standards and humanity, the United States is once again stirring up the situation in the Middle East and is preparing new crimes to be committed against the people of Palestine and other Arab peoples. This vast, mendacious propaganda campaign is being used as a means of diverting attention from the aggressive United States policy pursued in Central America and the Caribbean and directed particularly against Nicaragua and Cuba. The United States wants to divert attention of the concerned world public from the acts of aggression and crimes committed by the South African racists against the front-line States, especially against Angola and Mozambique.

162. Taking these facts into account it becomes clear why the initiators of this debate here in the Council did not answer the question of how it could happen that the South Korean aircraft, despite being equipped with the most modern computerized navigational facilities, deviated from its course and did not react to radio and other signals and warnings. The spy order obviously included deviation from course and a prohibition against following the orders given by the Soviet air-defence forces. It was no mistake, no technical or human failure, but cold-blooded calculation.

163. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic condemns vigorously this most striking abuse of peaceful civil aviation for military and political purposes and regrets the death of so many innocent people. It is beyond all doubt that the United States is fully responsible for this tragic incident and the resulting consequences.

164. The present meeting of the Council should therefore contribute to making the United States stop its peace-threatening military manoeuvres along the borders of sovereign States and to cease exposing civil aviation to danger by its provocations.

165. It is, furthermore, high time that the States refrained from violating the sovereignty of other countries in clear contradition of international law and concentrated instead on the prevention of a nuclear war, thus avoiding an unthinkable catastrophe for mankind, and on agreeing upon effective measures towards arms limitation and disarmament.

166. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Observer of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to make his statement.

167. Mr. KIM (Republic of Korea): Mr. President, thank you for allowing me to intervene once again at this point. The representatives of Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany made statements this afternoon during the course of discussions of the Security Council: statements in which they tried to defend the shooting down of the Korean Air Lines plane by Soviet military authorities. Their statements shed no new light on this tragic incident, no new information and no moral insight. They faithfully followed the line taken by the Soviet Union. But what is most distressing is that, while it is well known that these countries always, without single exception, follow the Soviet line on every international political issue, at least on this civil aviation issue—which is not a political issue, which is not an East-West issue, but a question which involves human lives, a question which is essentially moral and legal in nature—one would have thought that they would do other than dare to defend the crime committed by the Soviet authorities.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] International Civil Aviation Organization, *Rules of the Air*, Annex 2 to the Convention on International Civil Aviation (Eighth edition, July 1986).

[2] *Ibid.*, Supplement A, chap. 2.

[3] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 15, No. 102.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 974, No. 14118.

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